

Louis Adamic's Journey—Mark Gayn

THE *Nation*

September 20, 1952

THE THREAT TO PEACE

The Campaign Against U. N.

The Facts, the Issues, the Danger

BY RICHARD FRIEDLICH

THE THREAT TO DEMOCRACY

Why they Voted for McCarthy

BY H. H. WILSON

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A New Union Health Plan

BY ALBERT DEUTSCH

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Hubbub Over UNESCO

Los Angeles

AFTER a week of rowdy meetings the Los Angeles Board of Education finally handed down its verdict: no more teaching of the meaning and importance of UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) in the Los Angeles public schools. The leading spirit in this antediluvian policy was Edith K. Stafford, and all the other board members except Arthur Gardner supported her. Encouraged by the example of Los Angeles, nearby Long Beach is now ready to take similar action. If other American cities decide to follow suit, liberal education may soon be supplanted by something harmless called factual, non-controversial teaching. It will not be education.

One of Mrs. Stafford's supporters, Mrs. Ruth Dunne Cole, said that the en-

tire row boiled down to a conflict between those upholding individual freedom and those seeking the collective welfare. Arthur Gardner said Mrs. Stafford's resolution was "tantamount to a resolution against sin." "The school system," Gardner reminded his fellow board members, "exists to teach facts and skills and to develop an ability in children to understand and appraise their material and social environment." The U. N. and UNESCO, he affirmed, were "part of that environment."

At previous board meetings Dr. Hugh Tiner, president of Pepperdine College at Los Angeles, and Paul G. Hoffman were two of many speakers who had to endure boos and catcalls from unruly audiences. Hoffman reminded his hecklers in stentorian tones that he was accustomed to addressing predominantly Communist audiences in Europe and could not be intimidated.

The ruckus goes back to January of this year when the schools withdrew UNESCO material from their curriculum on the ground that it was subversive. After six months' study of the matter, a committee of curriculum heads, principals, supervisors, and teachers found the charges without foundation and recommended that the booklets in question be reinstated. But the charge that UNESCO sought to undermine the federal government was still pressed, and the board meetings, as a consequence, were attended by a public very audibly divided.

One attacker went so far as to label UNESCO a tool of the Communists, lamenting that it would ultimately reduce all mankind to the common denominator of slaves. A defender of UNESCO pointed out that opposition to it paralleled the Communist Party line, since Russia and its satellites have boycotted the organization.

Both factions in the dispute revealed almost complete ignorance of the actual material the schools had been using. UNESCO had put out a series of booklets, of which one, "The 'E' in UNESCO," had been distributed by Superintendent of Schools Alexander J. Stoddard and his staff as a guide to individual teachers. The pamphlet called for no particular lectures or sessions about the U. N. but suggested that

teachers keep in mind the U. N.'s importance and its bearing on world affairs.

Other pamphlets called "Toward World Understanding" have drawn even more virulent attacks from enemies of the U. N. The fifth of the series, dealing with school children under the age of thirteen, says in one place: "As long as the child breathes the poisoned air of nationalism, education in world-mindedness can produce only precarious results . . . it is frequently the family that infects the child with extreme nationalism." This is said to teach children that their duties as Americans are subordinate to their loyalty to world citizenship. Angry criticism has also been aroused by the statement that while the United States is a leader in the realm of human liberties, there are still people in this country whose freedom is limited. The pattern is changing for the better, the pamphlet notes, but it adds that students should learn how to aid those with limited rights and should know why their own rights must be exercised completely and intelligently.

Opponents of UNESCO's philosophy claim that it is Communist-inspired and that it would lower America's standard of living to the level of the world's poorest. Nationalism, they shout, should be taught in the schools; to teach the importance of world government is subversive. UNESCO has also been called atheistic and criticized for advocating birth control. The report that the Catholic church is firmly against UNESCO was enough to induce the Knights of Columbus to rebuke it. On the other hand, the Catholic Education Association and the Catholic Welfare Conference back the organization, and the K. of C. resolution drew a flood of telegrams.

The ban on the UNESCO booklets imposed by the Los Angeles Board of Education is of national interest. America is today one of the few great democracies remaining on the face of the earth. If the brotherhood of man and world government cannot be taught in Los Angeles public schools as truth or even as opinion, educators everywhere should rise up and protest. Only those who know the truth and will the good can be free.

AUBREY B. HAINES

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THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

The U. N. and 1955

The articles in this issue by Richard Friedlich and Aubrey Haines describe the vicious, many-sided, nationwide attack on the United Nations now getting under way in this country. The campaign is moving rapidly from the blueprint to the first "operational" stage. We shall have a great deal more to say in subsequent issues about the sponsors, objectives, and methods of this campaign and about ways to counter it. Here we merely note that it is proceeding on a carefully planned time-table. The strategy of those directing the assault is to whip up a frenzy of agitation against the U. N. between now and 1955, the year in which the Charter will be up for revision. By that time, the plotters hope, public sentiment will demand either that the United States withdraw from the United Nations or that the Charter be amended in a manner that would make it acceptable to Senator Jenner and the Daughters of the American Revolution.

The attack should not be taken lightly. It has been carefully planned. It has powerful behind-the-scenes sponsors. It is well organized. The objective is to destroy the United Nations or, failing this, to weaken it to the point where it would cease to be even an "embarrassment" should we decide to implement Mr. Dulles's policy of "liberation."

Report from Kasson

Minnesota Republicans made quite a production of Ike's participation in the plowing match at Henry Snow's farm near Kasson, Minnesota, on September 6. From a big booth at the entrance to the farm Republican city slickers distributed 75,000 reprints of a *Saturday Evening Post* article—Wow! Did Truman Fool the Farmers in 1948!—while sky-writing pilots, circling overhead, traced out the slogan "I Like Ike." Helmets, caps, and buttons with the same slogan were distributed wholesale. Yet not a single farmer was on hand to meet Ike as his plane landed at the Rochester airport. In fact, a good many of them seemed to find the farm-machinery exhibits more interesting than the General's speech, which

was full of tidbits about what farm life was like when he was a boy in Abilene, interlarded with rhetorical assaults on the "agricats" in Washington.

Governor Stevenson arrived without fanfare but was warmly received, thanks in part to the foresight of his managers, who had arranged to have him introduced by Henry Snow, owner of the 160-acre farm where the plowing matches were held. Stevenson merely had to remind his audience of the conditions that farmers faced in the 1930's to win his first good round of applause. In June of this year, he pointed out, more than half of the Republican members of the House voted against the law which extended price support at 90 per cent of parity through 1954. He also stressed the fact that the number of farmers who own their own farms has increased from 43 per cent in 1932 to 75 per cent today. Most observers gave the Governor slightly better than a draw in what was, given the General's me-tooism on farm policies, only a sparring match. "Farmers in this part of the country," writes our correspondent, Dick Bruner of the Mankato (Minnesota) *Free Press*, who attended the Kasson gathering, "are not buying the flexible-price-support talk that Allan Kline, president of the Farm Bureau Federation, is handing out. They like 90 per cent of parity just fine."

Postscript to a Crime

The signing of the agreement between the Bonn Republic, the government of Israel, and the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, committing Western Germany to pay \$822,000,000 in compensation for Nazi damage to Jewish property, brings to some kind of token moral conclusion perhaps the most barbarous chapter of World War II. To Dr. Nahum Goldmann, chairman of the American Section of the Jewish Agency and chairman of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, comprising twenty-four world Jewish organizations, goes a large share of the credit for reaching a decent compromise on the initial sum asked by Israel and the Jewish organizations. One can imagine Dr. Goldmann's feelings in signing the agreement. For it was he and the late Stephen S. Wise, as head of the World Jewish Congress, who presented to the world the

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documentary proof of Hitler's extermination plan—a plan that was carried out with no effective interference from the Allied nations.

The compromise figure of \$822,000,000 represents only a small fraction of the material claims of the Jewish world against Germany. And no monetary reparation can ease the conscience of mankind or dispel the tragic memories of the Jews. But one can accept the view of Moshe Sharett, Israeli Foreign Minister, that for Western Germany "it is a momentous departure because the pledge was undertaken not under duress but in obedience to a code of moral responsibility."

Government by McCarthy

A fortnight ago a seven-year-old boy was found drowned in a pond on his mother's estate. He was Willard Whitney Straight Dolivet, the son of Louis Dolivet, former head of the Free World Association and former editor of the *United Nations World*, and his divorced wife, Beatrice Straight, now Mrs. Peter Cookson.

Louis Dolivet, who had lived in the United States for some ten years, is in Paris, barred from the United States on charges of Communist and pro-Communist affiliations. For a week he sought a forty-eight hour visa to the United States to attend the burial of his child. The French government intervened in his behalf. Senator McCarran, author of the law under which Dolivet was denied admission without an opportunity to rebut the charges against him, intervened in his behalf. McCarran informed the State Department that even if Dolivet were a Communist he could see no danger in permitting his admission, if necessary under surveillance, for forty-eight hours.

The plea for a brief act of humanity reached the highest officials of the State Department, including Secretary of State Dean Acheson. The request was turned down. Did the State Department believe that Dolivet would come to the United States carrying an atomic bomb or some other Machiavellian instrument that could destroy the country in forty-eight hours? No! The State Department refused the request of the French government, Senator McCarran, and Louis Dolivet's official representatives out of fear—fear that Senator Joseph McCarthy would assail it for an act of common decency.

Mexico Points the Way

Through its distinguished representative in the United Nations, Luis Padilla Nervo, Mexico has taken the lead in urging a prompt cease-fire in Korea. As spokesman in the U. N. for those who are impatient with the handling of the Korean truce negotiations by military authorities, Mexico has submitted a plan for ending the deadlock on the issue of exchange of prisoners. It provides for the prompt exchange of prisoners who have

clearly indicated a desire for repatriation and the removal of the rest to asylum in countries not directly involved in the Korean fighting. Mexico maintains that the war in Korea is a United Nations war and that the United Nations, as such, should take the initiative in bringing it to a speedy conclusion. Its plan has been widely discussed in Europe and was the subject of conversations in London between Foreign Secretary Eden and U. N. Secretary General Lie. The lack of attention paid to it by the American press is indefensible.

Wisconsin: Wave of the Future

THE results of the Wisconsin primary should end the long late-summer daydream which the Democratic Party, its nominees, and a large section of the liberal and labor movements have been enjoying since the conventions. For McCarthy's thumping victory reveals the existence of a strong groundswell of fear, irrational hatred, and a compulsive drive to subordinate every issue, foreign and domestic, to the negative purpose of "fighting communism." Wisconsin is not a special case. It is the most conspicuous and recent example of the extent to which unreasoning fear can be played on to subvert the common sense and civic decency of the American people. The threat to democracy implicit in McCarthy's victory is unmistakable.

Wisconsin has a fine tradition of social reform, pride in good government, and a liking for progressive legislation. For months now two of the state's best newspapers have brilliantly exposed McCarthy's record; few voters can plead ignorance of that record or its meaning. Within the state a group of distinguished civic leaders have voiced their repugnance to McCarthy with vigor and eloquence. Yet Wisconsin voters, Republicans and Democrats, flocked to the polls on September 9 to vote for McCarthy. In anticipation of this fact we suggested on August 9 that certain bitter conclusions would have to be drawn from it. Some of them are superbly stated in H. H. Wilson's article in this issue.

McCarthy did not win by any last-minute pressure or trickery. On the contrary he conducted a remarkably quiet campaign. He did not win because of the weakness of his opponent. Leonard F. Schmitt proved to be an able candidate who conducted a heads-up, intelligent campaign. The harsh truth is that the voters of Wisconsin, with full knowledge of McCarthy's record, turned out for him in droves. Many who voted for him said that they did not approve of the man, his methods, or his morals; they cared only that he was the loudest of the "anti-Communists." Apart from McCarthy's "anti-communism" there is literally nothing in his record to commend him to the voter. "The result," as Mr. Schmitt said, "is an appalling thing." "What is important," he continued, "is that a man with the most corrupt record

ever made by a Wisconsin Senator is overwhelmingly indorsed by Wisconsin voters. The most amazing and fraudulent hoax ever practiced by a high public figure upon the voters of any state is approved by the people of a state which once insisted upon the highest standards of integrity, honesty, and decency in public life."

It is significant that McCarthy was enthusiastically supported by "the better elements." Residents of Milwaukee's silk-stocking suburbs voted for him en masse. The turnout in such wealth districts as White Fish Bay was unprecedented. According to a poll conducted by the Milwaukee *Sentinel*, the clergymen of the city supported McCarthy in the ratio of three to one. At his sole appearance in the prosperous suburb of Shorewood, McCarthy was able to arouse his listeners to "paroxysms of hatred," according to Joseph Alsop. Although McCarthy had strong organizational support, including the personal indorsement of Arthur E. Summerfield, Republican national chairman, and the tacit indorsement of General Eisenhower, his victory was a personal, not an organizational triumph. Fred Zimmerman was renominated for Secretary of State by a two-to-one margin despite the fact that he had defied the Republican organization by repudiating McCarthy.

McCarthy's victory is bound to shape and color the campaign. General Eisenhower will now be tempted and urged to go all out on the McCarthy-Nixon theme of China, Communism, and Corruption but mostly Communism. Paul Hoffman, frustrated in his efforts to keep the General in good company, has apparently withdrawn from the G. O. P. councils. Senator Morse has decided to sit this campaign out. The Chicago *Tribune*, elated that Ike came out for Senator Jenner before McCarthy's victory in Wisconsin, is now prepared to forgive and forget. What started out as a maneuver by Ike to out-flank the right wing of the Republican Party has ended in his encirclement.

THE meaning of all this to Stevenson and the rest of us is clear. The Governor must immediately transform the fight against McCarthyism into a reaffirmation and defense of the American way of life against those who would subvert it. He must do this by projecting, as he has begun to do, a foreign policy that will unite the country by capturing the imagination of the people. It cannot be a policy based on fear or the delusion that military power can "contain" an idea. Stevenson must cut the ground from beneath the McCarthys by scotching once and for all the ridiculous notion that communism *per se* imperils this country. Sanity cannot be restored to the discussion of foreign or domestic affairs until, as Charles Merz and Walter Lippmann once pointed out in a study of news distortion, "public opinion has been cleansed of fictions and bogies by therapeutic contact with honest and relevant fact."

If those who believe in American democracy capitulate to the fear of communism, they betray the faith they purport to defend. The other day Dr. Bella Dodd, an ex-Communist recently converted to the Roman Catholic church, testified before the McCarran committee that she had done great harm as a teacher although she had never sought to teach communism: "I taught children," she said, "to have open minds." The fear of communism usually leads to this blind and abject passion for conformity. Let Governor Stevenson give the right name to this "wave of the future" which, to the shame of the state, has swept over Wisconsin. The Germans had a word for it.

The Balkan Triangle

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THE NATO conference due to meet in Paris in December will show to what extent the manifest failures of the West's rearmament program can be overcome. Meanwhile the military planners are not wasting time. The Atlantic coalition is trying to extend itself in all directions, beyond its geographical limits, wherever men are capable of bearing rifles. Without waiting for the Paris and Bonn governments to ratify the German agreements, German rearmament proceeds *sub rosa*; it is now at the stage of preparing officer cadres and a system of recruiting—a slow and difficult process as the experience of France, Belgium, and other countries has shown.

With the situation in the Middle East extremely confused, the Western Allies are constantly trying to come to terms with Egypt, in whose new leader, General Naguib, they seem to place great hope. In Syria, ruled by another soldier, Colonel Sheshekly, and in Lebanon, where a general may seize power any day, they are maneuvering to obtain agreements which will permit them to carry out their strategic plans even if a united Middle East command is delayed. The policy of "protecting" Iraq and its annual flow of oil to Mediterranean ports is continued; efforts to win over Iran to the side of the West have not been checked by the abrupt rejection of the Truman-Churchill offer.

But it is above all the Balkan triangle—Greece, Turkey, and Yugoslavia—on which the military planners are focusing their attention. Greece has ten divisions, partly trained but fully equipped with modern arms supplied by the United States at an enormous cost in dollars—the Greek generals have been as eager to make a profit on their patriotism as Franco's generals are now. Turkey has twelve divisions, well trained and in the main well equipped. Yugoslavia, not a NATO member, has thirty-three well-trained divisions the deficiency of whose equipment is being rapidly remedied by growing

deliveries of American arms. Taken together, the armies of the three countries form an effective fighting force.

The problem is whether these armies *can* be considered as a whole, whether the bitter rivalries that have so long divided the three countries can be overcome. This important diplomatic task was first intrusted to General Ridgway, who is just back from a political and military trip to the Balkans, and now has been turned over to the British Foreign Secretary, Anthony Eden, who will shortly pay a visit to Belgrade. Mr. Eden's principal objective is to persuade Marshal Tito to become less intransigent with respect to Trieste. At the same time the Vatican, which makes the Big Four really the Big Five, is apparently moderating its hostility toward Belgrade. Opposed as he is to communism in Yugoslavia as elsewhere, the Pope puts a united front against Russia above everything else. That is also the view of the United States. An added indication of the interest American military strategists are taking in Tito's army is the arrival in Washington of Major General Franc Poglajen, chief of the military-aid section of the Yugoslav general staff. A Yugoslav military mission has just gone to Athens.

Prompted by the expectation of eventual conflict with Russia, every effort will be made to bring about the articulation of the Balkan triangle. The Greek Chief of Staff, visiting Ankara, said this in praise of the new Turkish-Greek collaboration: "We are witnessing the realization of what seemed an impossible dream." When General Ridgway returned from his Balkan visit he seemed to have got relief from the headaches caused by the slow rearmament of France and other NATO members.

In the United States Presidential campaign, the controversy on foreign policy has served to clarify the difference between "containment" and "roll-back" or "liberation." Some partisans of "containment" have defended themselves against the reproach that their policy was too static and ineffective by saying that it meant in practice "a little more than containment." To carry out the Turkish military maneuvers in the high presence of General Ridgway a few miles from the Russian frontier certainly seems like "a little more." But the entire conception of a Balkan triangle, completing the other triangles and quadrangles, indicates how far we have moved from the idea of negotiation and how governments are thinking now in military rather than diplomatic terms. It was difficult enough, psychologically, to pass from an attitude of "containment" to one of negotiation. To pass from "roll-back" to negotiation is practically impossible. And every time a new triangle is created it will strengthen the temptation to carry "containment" a little farther. Without understanding this fact no one can grasp the present international situation as a whole.

Why They Voted for McCarthy

BY H. H. WILSON

SOME Americans and many foreign observers express astonishment that a powerful and secure democratic nation should tolerate the erosion of civil liberties now going on here. American liberals have expressed concern, but there is a general failure to recognize that the very texture of our society is being modified. Instances of civil-liberties violations are noted as if they were unrelated events, and reliance is placed on the courts to stem the anti-democratic tide.

The fact is that with the polarization of conflict between nation states the struggle for power between groups in society is also intensified and the rules of polite rivalry are stretched or ignored. It is not unreasonable to suppose that if powerful forces in the United States did not find the Zolls, McCarrans, McCarthy, and Harts useful, such men would not long survive. When major corporations contribute to these and similar individuals—and also hire ex-F. B. I. agents and subsidize such publications as *Counterattack*—it may be assumed they do so in the conviction that they are thus furthering their own ends. Similarly, it is difficult not to conclude that a respectable conservative like Senator Taft supports McCarthy and General Eisenhower fails to repudiate him because they believe his tactics redound to Republican advantage.

A number of often-forgotten explanatory generalizations about the United States help us to understand the ease with which remodeling essential to the establishment of the garrison state is conducted. In the first place, this has never been a "liberal" country in the nineteenth-century sense. The doctrines of John Stuart Mill never pervaded American thinking. The resulting difference between American and British practice was dramatically illustrated when at its 1952 annual convention the British Legion, counterpart of the American Legion, rejected by a vote of 430 to 126 a resolution to bar Communists from membership. In this country two streams of influence, two equally American traditions, have always operated—one, narrow, bigoted, chauvinist, and intolerant; the other idealistic, humane, democratic, and progressive. Our history reveals frequent conflicts between these two forces, and some of our proudest moments and noblest leaders are associated with efforts to make the second predominant.

Secondly, it is not unreasonable to suggest that we

have not adequately understood either the nature of the political process or the imperatives of a democratic society. Too few of us seem aware of the relationship between freedom of speech or association, for example, and the survival of democratic politics. Were this not the case it is unlikely that the tactics used by Congressional and free-lance Neanderthal men could have so devastating an impact. Perhaps even more revealing on this score than the successful assault by the primitives is the capitulation of men of good-will, even as they earnestly seek to prevent the erosion of democracy. Thus the Librarian of Congress, while warning against efforts to force books out of our libraries, surrendered his case by conceding in regard to the author of a specific book that "if he were preaching communism, it would be O. K. to remove the book."

In addition to these traditional influences we face today a comparatively new phenomenon—the frenetic drive for respectability by erstwhile "left-wingers" and even some trade-union leaders. These persons, in their desperate efforts to prove their purity, are prepared to attack those who persist in defending democratic principles in a hostile environment.

Finally, public apathy to the persistent inroads on all civil liberties drives one to the harsh conclusion that for a majority of the American people these fundamentals have little meaning. In what other democratic society has the leader of a security police become a national hero, ranking with movie stars and baseball players? What other democratic society has given public testimonial banquets to police informers? What other democratic society has rewarded with an academic post and sizable emoluments a professional perjurer? In what other democratic society does one judge accept extraordinary honors for doing what, presumably, he was appointed to do, while another is hounded from his home state because he upheld the Constitution? These questions are not to suggest that other societies do not have comparable institutions, individuals, and incidents, or that security measures are unnecessary. Presumably we also have to have public executioners; the question is whether we need to glorify them.

It is the absence of a deep commitment to the democratic process revealed by these things that has made us peculiarly vulnerable to slick operators who use the democratic rhetoric to their own ends. And it is this general indifference of a considerable percentage of the American people that gives significance to individual examples of violations of civil liberties.

H. H. WILSON, a member of the Department of Politics of Princeton University, is the author of *"Congress: Corruption and Compromise."*

ALTHOUGH a certain amount of remodeling is undoubtedly taking place, it would be extreme to say that we are moving toward fascism. But it is not extreme to say that American society shows certain characteristics which it would be generally agreed are not those of a confident society strengthening its democratic institutions and reaffirming its faith in democratic values.

First, there is the growth of conservatism—perhaps, “indifference to new ideas” is a more accurate term; this is especially marked in the field of social and political organization. What experimentalism exists is chiefly in the technological field. The positive hostility to social experiment is primarily significant because it contributes to our failure to devise new procedures or techniques to offset the by-products of a centralized society.

Related to this conservatism is the prevalence of insecurity. In part insecurity is a corollary of the loss of



Independence—granting productive property, the fact that three out of four Americans who work are on someone else's pay roll. Beyond this, it stems from an awareness of forces beyond the control of the individual—war, depression, inflation. Manipulation of an apprehensive people for political ends is standard technique for all anti-democrats.

A third development is the remarkable weakening of traditional instruments of protest, the absence of militant groups. Trade unions are being incorporated into the productive apparatus. There is at least a tendency for labor leaders to think as members of a managerial élite: disagreements with management center on division of the product, on issues of relative prestige, and, in extreme cases, on threats to the survival of the union. Agrarian protest movements, whose members were once the most vocal critics of the industrial order, have disappeared; some have been absorbed into the bureaucracy of the welfare state; others have seen their leaders become colleagues of the managerial élite. It is only barely too sweeping to suggest that no important social critics are now able to obtain a following in the United States.

Fourth, one must consider the impact of the dominant educational forces in this country—press, radio, television, and movies. What values and standards do these instruments inculcate? C. Wright Mills's charge that “they trivialize issues into personal squabbles rather than humanize them” and that “they spin records of political emptiness” can hardly be discounted. These results may be credited to the “group-think” operators who seem to dominate the communications media. We may well ask ourselves what forces have produced a high-school generation that reveals contempt for democratic principles and devotion to authoritarianism.

Regimentation is becoming perhaps the dominant characteristic of this society. Lip-service, to be sure, is still paid to individualism, chiefly expressed by condemning government and opposing any restriction on the right to exploit it in the economic area. Primarily this modern regimentation, as Karl Mannheim and Herbert Marcuse have brilliantly remarked, is the result of industrialization, of mass production. The machine process, the organization of technology, imposes upon men patterns of mechanical behavior. “Individuals are stripped of their individuality,” says Marcuse, “not by external compulsion, but by the very rationality under which they live.” Significantly, there is no consciousness of loss, no sense of submitting to a hostile force. On the contrary, the organization to which the individual submits is so rational and so productive of material goods that individual protest appears both hopeless and irrational.

Accompanying this regimentation is the intensive development of new techniques for manipulating men. “The spectacle of an efficient élite maintaining its authority,” comments E. H. Carr, “and asserting its will over the mass by the rationally calculated use of irrational methods of persuasion is the most disturbing nightmare of mass democracy.” Psychological insights are being utilized to shape the human material to the productive apparatus. The “engineering of consent to authority,” notes Mills, “has moved into the realm of manipulation where the powerful are anonymous. Impersonal manipulation is more insidious than coercion precisely because it is hidden.” Manipulation thrives on apathy and indifference; and the “mechanics of conformity” move from the industrial organization to other areas of society, to schools, entertainment, politics.

THE corruption and degradation of the individual have profound implications. Democracy is predicated on the possibility of developing responsible, mature, and independent individuals capable of working with others but without a compulsive need to dominate them. At present prosperity and material well-being seem to have weakened our devotion to non-material values. There is a growing tendency to accept the shriveling of democracy if only we can continue to be comfortable.

More insidious, however, is what appears as a widespread contempt for human personality. Signs of this range from the relatively innocuous captive-audience technique of pumping advertising into bus passengers to the steadily multiplying invasions of privacy with which we are more and more afflicted, notes Harold Lasswell, "as the garrison-prison-state pattern is more closely approximated." It is expressed by the use of hidden microphones to eavesdrop on department-store personnel, by the subjection of government employees to lie-detector tests every three months. One employee wrote me recently:

You have a rough idea of what I do in this job; you know that some of the things I don't do are interrogation and investigation; about these things I am supposed to know nil. Today the following notice came to me from the Passport Division of the Department of State: "It would be appreciated if you would call to the department's attention any application for passport executed by a person whom you have any indication of Communist or subversive activities, in order that an appropriate investigation may be made before the department acts upon the application. *This should be done even though the information which you may have seems vague or inconclusive*" (my emphasis).

It should not be forgotten that one of the by-products of the "loyalty" investigations is to make individuals despise themselves by forcing them to grovel, to serve as informers and stool pigeons, in order to keep their own jobs. Loss of confidence in ourselves and our fellows is reflected in the growing pressure for conformity, the distrust of independence and the demand for psychic security, and the intolerance of dissent. Quite properly *Time* may observe that "young people seem to have no militant beliefs. . . . Today's generation, either through fear, passivity, or conviction, is ready to conform."

These developments have been accompanied by a discrediting of public office and governing institutions and even by a growing belief in the futility of the political process. Contributing to this cynicism have been violations of the Constitution and the law by public officials, the conduct of Congressional committees, wire-tapping by the F. B. I., the unprecedented influence of the military, and the spread of the anti-democratic doctrine that the end justifies the means. Increasingly individuals fail to see the connection between significant issues and political action. Parties seem designed to obscure or avoid the presentation of meaningful choices.

Operating both as cause and effect is the absence of a vital common purpose and an adequate political or social theory. Where are we headed? What great idea motivates our collective life? A nation is unlikely to sustain greatness merely by resisting the Soviet Union or even by launching an "Operation Killer."

This lack of purpose does not mean that a common goal has been lost, for liberal democracy never offered one. Rather the problem has been newly created in the course of moving from an individualistic society to a collective one—collective, that is, in the physical and organizational sense.

THE need is now to develop a pervasive sense of social purpose, with certain common ends explicitly stated. We have never faced up to this before because the primary problems have been those of mastering the physical environment rather than of relating man to society. There has been a persistent failure to recognize that in a complex society it may be only through collective action that the individual obtains freedom. There is still a strong tendency to emphasize the necessity for change in individuals, while neglecting the need for institutional change.

"The more intense an individual's concern with power over things," writes Max Horkheimer, "the more will things dominate him, the more will he lack any genuine individual traits, and the more will his mind be transformed into an automaton of formalized reason." Inevitably our society, operating from these premises, underestimates the individual in assuming far too narrow a range of human motivation. We have couched our incentives too narrowly, as if the individual would respond only to fear, profit, and power.

Finally, it is obvious that the attention of people is increasingly being diverted from these internal developments to external problems. One result is that the discontent or frustration which might stimulate a politics dealing with fundamentals is channeled outward and focused on the Soviet Union and communism. This external challenge in turn provides a rationale for procedures which, no matter what the intent, hasten the erosion of the democratic political process.

One is forced to conclude that passive defense of our civil liberties is simply not enough. Reliance upon judicial decisions, even if they dare run counter to prevailing opinion, will not preserve our liberties. What is called for is a change in the climate of opinion, a reassertion of confidence in our democratic system, and the rise of a generation prepared to challenge and to alter any institution or practice which implements anti-democratic power. For the individual this means that to be useful he must "never take a course that will silence" him. As a beginning it is difficult to improve upon John Jay Chapman's advice:

Refuse to accept anything that implies collusion, whether it be a clerkship or a curacy, a legal fee or a post in a university. Retain the power of speech, no matter what other power you may lose. If you can take this course, and in so far as you take it, you will bless this country. In so far as you depart from this course you become dampers, mutes, and hooded executioners.

The Campaign Against the U. N.

BY RICHARD FRIEDLICH

THE United Nations, compelled by its nature to adopt a neutral attitude in American politics, nevertheless indulged in some private rejoicing over the outcome of the two conventions. In the Republican case it was cheered by the negative fact of Taft's defeat rather than by Eisenhower's triumph, most of the disparate right-wing elements which have attacked the U. N. with increasing virulence in recent months having been Taftites. In the Democratic case Stevenson was recognized as a more militant U. N. supporter than the other Democratic candidates and as an internationalist who if elected could be expected to back up his party's verbal nods to the organization with action to strengthen its role in the struggle to keep the peace. The U. N. knew from experience that an Administration which though friendly is something less than devoted can leave it badly exposed to sniping from the right.

Between now and November the U. N. will keep its sentiments discreetly veiled, but privately it will be for Stevenson. It feels that an Eisenhower victory would sweep into Congress so many McCarthys, Jenners, and Brickers that the decline of the U. N. as an instrument of United States foreign policy could not be checked, even though Eisenhower himself favored its use. The grave dangers to the U. N. that have developed under the somewhat less than fervent sponsorship of the Administration were pointed out recently by Porter McKeever, who served six years as chief press officer of the American delegation. The Administration has cut down the U. N., he told reporters, from being the cornerstone of our foreign policy "to the size of a pebble," and added that public support of the organization appeared to be rapidly "slipping away."

Actually, public support of the U. N. seems to have changed qualitatively rather than quantitatively. A poll taken in June by the National Opinion Research Center of Chicago found that 85 per cent of the people in the country favored continued United States membership, compared with 78 per cent the year before, and that 47 per cent were "satisfied" with the organization, compared with 43 per cent in 1951. The most recent Gallup poll, taken last December, showed 73 per cent favoring

continued United States membership, a moderate decline from 75 per cent the previous June.

But statistics do not measure the increased sharpness of the criticism or the growing apathy and doubt among people who would still list themselves as supporters of the U. N. A citizen might tell an interviewer that he favored the U. N. and then reply with a series of noes to specific questions about whether he backs the action in Korea or the effort to write a treaty on human rights.

Enemies of the U. N. find that the simplest way to enlist support is to smear it as one big Communist plot. They have used the appearance of a number of U. N. employees before Congressional and grand-jury inquiries into communism as jumping-off points for their attacks. Their goal is to effect the complete divorcement of this country from the world organization. The people who have ganged up on the U. N. in this fashion are often in the vanguard of divers anti-democratic movements. They include the most irresponsible of the red-baiters, the professional anti-Semites and Negro-baiters, and the self-righteous reactionaries who purvey hatred of foreigners, misappropriating for their cause the American flag and Constitution. Among them are such familiar personalities as the Reverend Gerald L. K. Smith, Merwin K. Hart, Joseph Kamp, and Edward Rumely.

One of the favorite fictions disseminated by enemies of the U. N. is that Alger Hiss wrote the Charter. Dr. Ralph Bunche, who has filled some of the U. N.'s highest posts, has reported disturbing evidence of the quasi-authoritative manner in which this canard has been circulated. After a speech he gave in Los Angeles a genteel, well-dressed woman in the audience came up to him and said she was worried about United States participation in the U. N. because an army general had told her D. A. R. chapter he had documents proving that Hiss had written the Charter.

The witch-hunters among the critics of the U. N. have an operative in Congress in the person of Representative John T. Wood of Idaho, who has gone so far as to introduce a bill calling for United States withdrawal from the organization. "The U. N.," he has said, "is an instrument conjured up in the evil minds of the international agents of the Soviet Union for the express purpose of foisting upon the unsuspecting people of all nations 'One World' government dominated by the Soviet Union." He considers the war in Korea part of a "fatal U. N. policy, blueprinted for this nation's destruction."

Many elements in the anti-U. N. movement were



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brought together at the D. A. R. convention in Washington in April. Representative Wood told the several thousand Daughters that the U. N. was a crime perpetrated by "out-and-out minions of Soviet Russia, pro-British Fabian Socialists, Rhodes scholars, and just plain traitors to America." The isolationist Republican Senator from Indiana, William E. Jenner, said that "we must disentangle ourselves from the U. N. because it is a collective super-state." The D. A. R. members, with only five dissenting, adopted a resolution expressing disapproval of any attempt by the U. N. to bring about complete or partial world government. In an official statement the convention stopped just short of urging immediate United States withdrawal.

THE U. N.'s Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has been singled out for special attack. Accusations that the agency was tainted with communism and atheism culminated in a D. A. R. resolution condemning use of its teacher-guidance booklets in American public schools. The fault of these booklets was that they suggested teachers should soft-pedal the nationalist ideals emphasized in many nations' history books and try to give their pupils a world outlook. The UNESCO pamphlets may not have struck a perfect balance in treating the subject of nationalism versus internationalism, but they were certainly not the work of Kremlin plotters aiming to turn the world's youth against their native countries. If proof is needed, one may cite the fifteen-to-three vote in the U. N. Economic and Social Council a year ago approving the report of UNESCO's activities: the three that disapproved were Russia, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. Many of the agency's critics, inside and outside the D. A. R., are persons who for some time have been sniping at the American public-school system, demanding purges of leftist teachers, proscription of certain textbooks, and abandonment of so-called progressive educational methods.

The education editor of the *New York Times*, Benjamin Fine, has shown how effective anti-U. N. pressure from the D. A. R. and similarly inclined groups has been on school authorities. Fine reported last month that some school systems, to the deep concern of leading educators, had discarded the UNESCO teacher-guidance booklets as well as other material concerning the U. N. The Houston, Texas, school board, he said, had banned the annual U. N. essay contest. (In this case the citizens rebelled, took over the contest, and held it in the Y. W. C. A.) In Los Angeles the superintendent of schools, Dr. Alexander J. Stoddard, had not only banned the essay contests but also withdrawn the controversial UNESCO booklets. The number of American schools participating in the essay contest dropped from 2,700 in 1951 to 2,600 in 1952.

UNESCO is in a particularly bad spot because the at-

tack on it has been furthered by the Vatican. A Vatican news bulletin on June 21 accused it and the U. N.'s World Health Organization of being dominated by a "materialistic spirit." UNESCO, it said, "is lacking in its concept of morality. . . . Its scale of values is entirely empirical, and it never refers to an absolute." The WHO came in for condemnation because it had ventured into

the fields of birth control and artificial insemination. At the time it was feared that the Vatican attack on the two agencies might be the prelude to an expanding Catholic opposition to the whole United Nations, but since then the organiza-



Trygve Lie

tion has received what amounts to a Papal blessing.

The alleged "U. N. threat to America" was behind the introduction in the Senate of the so-called Bricker resolution, which urged adoption of a constitutional amendment that would slash the power of the President and Senate to make treaties. Introduction of the resolution was spurred by the decision of a California court that the U. N. Charter nullified a local property law barring aliens who were ineligible for citizenship—a Japanese in this case—from owning real property. Though the finding was reversed in the state Supreme Court, the concern occasioned by the lower court's ruling remained. Opposition to the U. N. Convention against Genocide and the projected Convention on Human Rights also stimulated the demand for the resolution. The U. N. was its target, but it was so drafted that the whole treaty-making power of the federal government was affected.

The resolution would ban all treaties and executive agreements "respecting"—a very loose word—the constitutional rights of United States citizens. It would ban agreements giving an international organization or a foreign country any power vested in Congress, the President, or the courts: all arbitration treaties under a foreign umpire would be out. It would ban agreements altering federal or state law unless they were enacted through regular Congressional legislation. Thus the conduct of international business by executive action would be subjected to the delays involved in writing and enacting Congressional law.

Fifty-nine Senators indorsed the Bricker resolution, some of whom—such as Lodge and Saltonstall of Massachusetts, Ives of New York, Mrs. Smith of Maine, and Morse of Oregon—are ordinarily in favor of facilitating international cooperation. Many probably signed simply because its proponents—the American Bar Association was a prime mover—made it appear that treaties might

downgrade the fundamental constitutional rights of Americans. While a case could be made for some legislation designed to clarify the relations between the treaty-making power, the Constitution, and domestic law, the sweeping Bricker resolution is not what is needed.

In view of the rising opposition to even so limited an instrument of international cooperation as the U. N., it is no wonder that the idea of transforming it into something more akin to a world government is being abandoned by public officials. At one time twenty-two state legislatures had asked the federal government to take steps to create a world federation. Now fifteen of them, prodded by such organizations as the D. A. R. and the Veterans of Foreign Wars, have changed their minds and rescinded their resolutions on the subject.

The forces supporting the U. N. apparently lack the dynamism required to break the back of the attacks on it. The Truman Administration has put considerable effort into making the U. N. a going concern. Entry of the United States into the Korean war under the U. N.'s aegis is considered by some to be a high point in the history of the movement for collective security. But the Administration has also weakened the U. N. by bypassing it when implementing important foreign policies. Sometimes it has done this as an appeasement of McCarthyism; at other times it has had even less excuse.

But if the Administration has undermined the U. N.

potential by failure to pursue important policies within its framework, the U. N. has missed opportunities to assert itself and capture the public's imagination. And what is even more serious, it has fought back only feebly against accusations that it is a nest of spies. Secretary General Trygve Lie has in effect helped to certify the charges by authorizing a house-cleaning of U. N. employees suspected of illegal Communist activities. The *New York Times* reported on June 15 that fifteen suspects had been dismissed or asked to resign and that at least thirty more were slated for similar treatment.

Lie and Byron Price, assistant secretary general for administrative affairs, have denied any connection between the U. N. firings and grand-jury or other inquiries into communism. Little doubt exists, however, that the U. N. has had access to United States government lists of U. N. employees suspected of being or having been Communists. Whether government officials applied pressure that led to the firings or whether the U. N., eager to disarm criticism, took the initiative in seeking information on its employees is beside the point. It is hardly in accord with the lofty principles on which the U. N. is built for its Secretary General to order the dismissal of political suspects without giving them an opportunity to know the particulars of the case against them or to defend themselves. Surely he could have found some better method to combat a red-smear campaign.

Britain Won't "Liberate"

BY ANDREW ROTH

London

IN THE slightly stodgy atmosphere of a church conference house in southern England a brilliant young French editor was holding forth with impeccable logic on the manner in which cold-war propaganda, on both sides, inexorably builds toward the "war of liberation." The surprisingly youthful J. M. Domenach, editor of the liberal Catholic monthly *Esprit*, demonstrated that carefully channeled propaganda disguised as "information" has been pushing the masses on both sides of the Iron Curtain toward the acceptance of four propositions: Good is on our side, evil on the other; the other side threatens the peace; war is inevitable because of the pressures driving the other side; victory will bring "liberation," "justice," and the solution of present unbearable problems. M. Domenach was able to win quick support from his listeners. They were almost all pacifists, attending the annual conference of the International Liaison

Committee of Organizations for Peace. Other speakers were Pastor Niemöller and V. K. Krishna Menon, until recently Nehru's representative in London.

M. Domenach's words would have been listened to sympathetically by a much wider audience. One would expect a French "neutralist" to evoke a response in British Labor circles, but when the editor of *Esprit* spoke, at the end of August, the highest circles of Britain would have applauded. For British leaders were still recoiling from General Eisenhower's promise to turn back "the tidal mud of communism" and "liberate" the "captive" populations "of the enslaved lands"—including not only Eastern Europe but China and Tibet, Outer Mongolia, areas of Indo-China, North Korea, and, in his uninformed phrase, "the northern island of Japan"—or "northern Japan" as the *New York Times* transcribed it. This apparently meant, not Hokkaido, which is still part of Japan, but southern Sakhalin, which was taken by Japan from Russia in 1905 and returned in 1945. Its return was confirmed in the peace treaty drafted by John Foster Dulles last year.

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In Britain the reaction to Eisenhower's speech was more temperate than on the Continent. The British know how to control their feelings when open dissent might strain the Anglo-American alliance. An editorial in the *Times* of August 27 was a consummate example of how a British journalist can take down a person's pants and spank him soundly while appearing to be patting him on the back. The editorial pointed out that the Eisenhower-Stevenson nominations had reassured Britain that "whatever the outcome of the election, no revolutionary change in American foreign policy is to be expected." It accepted the fact that Eisenhower's party must make political propaganda, but insisted that it could "avoid taking up positions which it may find embarrassing if it wins." Feeling it advisable to be charitable to Americans, the *Times* continued:

Almost certainly, General Eisenhower did not intend, when he listed the "captive peoples" of Eastern Europe and the Far East, to assume any specific commitment at all. He may have intended no more than to outline in hard terms the "tragedy of lost opportunity" of the past ten years and to assert a proper concern for the peoples that have fallen victim to that tragedy.

But, it admitted:

General Eisenhower seemed to come near to assuming certain commitments which might be quite beyond the ability of the United States to discharge by peaceful means in any measurable period of time. . . . The difficulty is . . . that to list as *irredenta* vast areas of Europe and Asia, and to advocate telling the Soviet government "with cold finality" that "we shall never recognize the slightest permanence" in its position there raises doubts about the manner in which General Eisenhower would really like American foreign policy to be conducted. . . . He has inherited the Republican foreign policy which Mr. Dulles, at the party convention in July, described as "liberation, not containment."

The *Times* clearly saw this as an example of adolescent bravado exceeding power:

There have been many occasions in the past when American governments have taken up rigid and wholly sincere moral positions, refusing to recognize indubitable situations of fact, but such refusals have rarely been fruitful in their outcome. In these days the United States plays not a withdrawn but an active part in international affairs. From this change, perhaps the greatest single development in world affairs in the twentieth century, flows the inexorable necessity of matching a foreign policy to the means available for its pursuit; the desirable and the possible can no longer safely be confused.

The British not only doubt America's ability to "liberate" the new Communist states but fear it would be fatal for Britain to be "shanghaied" into such a crusade.

September 20, 1952

MUCH sharper than the polite chiding of the *Times* was the criticism of Edward Crankshaw, the *Observer's* expert on Russian affairs. Persons moderately critical of Soviet policy think that Mr. Crankshaw has a strong anti-Communist bias—his views, it should be said, often parallel those of the East European sections of the Foreign Office. In a Foreign News Service dispatch published in the *Observer* of August 28 he expressed concern that General Eisenhower had "come out with the most downright statement of cold-war aims yet uttered by a responsible leader of opinion in the West . . . at a moment when there is an accumulation of signs suggesting that Stalin is considering the advantages of an armistice in the cold war."

Lately, in the Soviet party journals [he continued], there has been more than one suggestion that Moscow has decided to desist in its provocations, consolidate its gains, achieve some sort of a coexisting agreement with the West, and devote itself to building up the strength of the Soviet Union. Signor Nenni [Italy's pro-Soviet Socialist leader] in a recent speech hinted at the same idea. The instructions to the French Communist Party to go easy and revive the spirit of the popular front point in the same direction. The calling of the nineteenth party congress for October itself marks the end of a chapter in Soviet history. The increased urgency and ruthlessness in the drive to Sovietize the East European satellites again suggests that Stalin is more immediately concerned with strengthening the Soviet sphere than in weakening the outside world. All things considered, it will not be surprising if, at the party congress in October, the Kremlin puts a new stress on the doctrine to live and let live, acknowledging a deadlock in the conflict between East and West, and ushering in a new period in the spirit of "socialism in one country"—with the difference that this time it will be socialism in several countries.

Crankshaw even ventures to point out that while "liberation" can end police terror it would probably replace it with exploitation.

Police terror is [Stalin's] own natural method of getting his way. The West has other methods of getting its way: the most effective in the past has been a wide range of what might be called financial blackmail, employed with more or less elegance, with more or less benevolence, in the interests of its own system, against the weaker and more backward nations. It is possible to argue, and many Soviet Communists do so argue, that in the long run the adoption of the Soviet system will benefit, say, Rumania, even if many people get badly hurt in the process of adoption; whereas the continuation of the capitalist system, which meant that Rumania was largely run by capitalist interests outside the country, would never benefit the Rumanians even if it were less immediately brutal in its application and effect.

Crankshaw asks how this policy is to be carried out.

Supposing, for example, that in due course the Soviet Union and the Western powers were to withdraw their troops from Germany and Austria—this has already been suggested so far as Germany is concerned in the latest Soviet note—the Soviet Union would have no pretext for keeping her troops along the lines of communication in the East European satellites. She would withdraw, unless the satellites invited her to stay. She would leave behind her a number of states with strong Communist governments, backed by the powerful local police forces, controlling peoples from whom the brave and active oppositions have been ruthlessly purged. They would, on the face of it, be sovereign governments, in close alliance with the Soviet Union. They might even invite the Kremlin to establish and garrison bases in their territories—as Britain and France have invited the United States of America to do the same. Given this situation, what is the West supposed to do? Is it to declare war on Rumania because she has a Communist government in close alliance with the Soviet Union?

Calling for British realism on the Communist states, he says:

It is the business of the West to make the non-Communist sector of the world so strong, morally and physically, that if, for example, the Czechs decided to break with the Soviet Union, the free world would, so to speak, be in a position to support them.

To promise anything more, without executing it, would convince the surviving anti-Communists in the Communist states that the United States "talks loudly but carries a small stick." To do anything more would, it is clear, panic America's European allies.

The strongly pro-American *Economist* summarized responsible British opinion about what it described as Eisenhower's "dangerously aggressive" proposals when it declared on August 30:

Unhappily "liberation" applied to Eastern Europe—and Asia—means either the risk of war or it means nothing. . . . "Liberation" entails no risk of war only when it means nothing.

A New Union Health Plan

BY ALBERT DEUTSCH

San Francisco

THE San Francisco Labor Council, comprising 141 local A. F. of L. unions with 187,000 members, has approved a unique city-wide medical program which may deeply influence union health and welfare patterns in many other cities. As prospects grow dimmer for national health insurance in the near future, union leaders put increasing stress on their own medical-care arrangements for members through negotiated contracts with management. Recent years have seen a proliferation of health plans financed mainly by employers; some are sound, some of dubious value. Coverage is rarely complete; often it falls far below adequacy. In most plans commercial insurance policies provide indemnity against the costs of certain accidents and ailments; some plans cover hospital and/or medical services arranged through non-profit or profit-making agencies. Still relatively few but growing in number are direct health services, more or less comprehensive, set up by the unions themselves or by labor-management boards.

The San Francisco plan was drafted by a brilliant young physician and medical economist, Dr. E. Richard Weinerman, who is now working out the details of operation with union officials. It calls for a network of labor health centers in neighborhoods where workers and

their families live, with a large centrally located Labor Health Institute to provide special services not available in the local centers. The centers would be staffed by groups of general physicians and specialists practicing "teamwork medicine."

Negotiated health and welfare funds would furnish the main financial support of the San Francisco set-up. Any union affiliated with the city Labor Council could join or not as it chose. The council would administer the plan with the aid of management and professional advisory groups, and a special medical board would establish and supervise standards of quality. Individual union members would also be free to choose another type of medical coverage; labor-union officials are anxious to safeguard the "free choice" principle.

A comprehensive system of preventive, diagnostic, therapeutic, and rehabilitative health services is envisioned in the San Francisco labor plan. About 80 per cent of the services required by the average worker's family would be provided—twice as much as is covered by existing health benefits. Acceptable community hospitals would furnish beds for subscribers requiring hospitalization. If this aspect of the plan does not work out satisfactorily, the Labor Council may decide to build and maintain its own hospitals.

Each family using the plan could choose its own physician from the health-center staff. This family doctor would, in effect, serve as captain of a medical team pool-

ALBERT DEUTSCH, author and journalist, specializes in problems of social welfare.

ing its skills in the patient's behalf. Main emphasis would be on preventive services, which is good for patients and doctors alike in such a prepaid plan.

It is estimated that this service could be provided at a cost of about \$4.50 a month for a worker alone, plus \$6 or \$7 for his family. The average monthly cost, regardless of family size, would be about \$9 a month per covered worker. Memberships could be paid entirely by employers or by employers and workers.

INASMUCH as A. F. of L. members and their families make up more than half of San Francisco's total population, the new health plan will have a profound impact on the medical economics of the city. The American Medical Association recently sent staff members from its Chicago headquarters to report on the economic implications of the plan, and the San Francisco Medical Society, an affiliate of the A. M. A., has created a special Labor Health Plan Study Committee to investigate the Labor Council's set-up. Its chairman, Dr. Samuel R. Sherman, in a letter circulated to all local physicians, says: "Union-labor health plans may bring drastic changes in the practice of medicine in the near future, and the profession must formulate plans to meet the challenge."

Dr. Weinerman, backed by the Labor Council, has earnestly sought to win the cooperation of organized medicine. The medical society has been invited to help set up suitable professional standards and fair scales of professional pay. The union officials point out that the plan is entirely voluntary and that they intend to use only local doctors in the medical centers. The American Medical Association has repeatedly, in recent years, expressed its support of voluntary health plans—after fighting them bitterly a decade or two ago—and all its requirements for such plans are met by the council's scheme. Nevertheless, some neutral observers see a bitter fight shaping up. The Permanente Health Plan, founded by Henry J. Kaiser and Dr. Sidney Garfield, is operating successfully in this region, but the San Francisco Medical Society still denies membership to Permanente staff doctors (see *Hospitals for the People?* by A. W. Hoppe in last week's *Nation*). Should the society try to obstruct the Labor Council's plan, it would find a big fight on its hands, since the council represents about 90 per cent of organized labor in this union-conscious town.

About half of the A. F. of L.'s 187,000 members are now protected by existing health and welfare funds, and the number is expected to rise to 125,000 by the end of 1952. Of these funds, about \$6,500,000 a year is available for health coverage. Labor Council officials are confident that this money can be spent most effectively through the proposed plan, centrally administered and medically decentralized. The health centers, it is estimated, would cost from \$200,000 to \$400,000 each to

build and equip. A starting membership of some 30,000 workers is foreseen.

George Johns, council secretary, has explained how the idea originated:

When health and welfare funds were first negotiated in labor-management agreements, we were anxious to get the best possible medical services for our members. But we didn't know just how to proceed. We hired a private insurance consultant to advise us. We later realized we should have obtained a public-health-oriented medical expert to do the job. So we commissioned Dr. Weinerman to conduct a survey for us, and to help us plan and organize a program that would bring modern medicine to our members and their families at costs within reach of available welfare funds.

Dr. Weinerman's survey revealed the following facts: There is a confused and often overlapping pattern of union welfare funds in San Francisco as in most other cities. Some seventy-one local unions are involved in sixty-four joint agreements, administered from forty-five separate offices and covered under twenty-four different insurance carriers and health-service agencies. A single union may be a partner to as many as eight different welfare-fund agreements. The medical coverage in welfare funds for more than three-fourths of the workers—86 per cent of the total welfare funds—is arranged through commercial insurance companies. Most of the other covered workers get varying amounts of medical care from the California Physicians' Service and the Permanente Health Plan. Only one-fifth of the covered workers have their dependents included in health benefits; about half have the option of covering their dependents by paying extra premiums.

In many plans the worker gets back in actual "health value" only half the premium paid in his behalf. The rest is eaten up in excessive administrative expenses for filing, processing, and paying individual bills on each item of medical service; in wasteful expenditures resulting from abuses of doctors' fee schedules; in excessive claim rates for hospital and surgical services because preventive, diagnostic, and early treatment is excluded or minimized; in the waste entailed when many small plans are operated independently.

The San Francisco plan would be the first to be operated directly by a central labor council. Philadelphia has a medical center sponsored by the A. F. of L. Central Labor Union, but it is administered by the five or six unions whose 12,000 workers are served. Other labor health plans—notably those of the United Mine Workers, the Amalgamated Garment Workers, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and the Teamsters' Union of St. Louis—are administered by the individual unions. The San Francisco experiment will be watched closely by unions eager to make more effective use of their health and welfare funds.

BOOKS and the ARTS

MIRROR IMAGE: PORT-AU-PRINCE

*Au petit
Salon de Coiffeur,
Monique's / hands fork
like lightning, like a bâton
rise / to lead her client's hair
in repassage: she irons out the kinks.
Madame's brown cheek / is dusted over with a
paler shade / of costly powder. Nails and lips are red.
Her matching lips and nails incarnadined, / in the
next booth Madame consults her face / imprisoned
in the glass. Her lovely tan / is almost
gone. Oh, watch Yvonne's astute
conductor fingers set the
permanent, / In little
Drawing-room of
Hairdresser!*

BARBARA HOWES

Document for Our Times

THE EAGLE AND THE ROOTS. By Louis Adamic. Doubleday and Company. \$5.

IN A Slovenian forest, one day early in 1949, Louis Adamic came upon an eagle, its beak imbedded in a thick root. As Adamic watched, the bloody and exhausted bird finally freed itself and painfully flew away. The root, which seemed so solid, broke at the point where the beak had been caught. In later months, as Adamic saw more of Yugoslavia, he came to identify the eagle with Tito and the root with Soviet—and Western—systems of life. And still later he found the theme and title for his book in the forest episode.

Adamic's last book, however, is only partly the tale of the Yugoslav eagle. Alongside, blurred but unmistakable runs the story of an American liberal, distressed by the illiberal trends he saw at home, repelled by Soviet tactics, and seeking in loneliness and anguish new freedom and spiritual reformation in the Yugoslavia where he was born.

These two themes—of Tito's flight to independence and of Adamic's own unhappy search—weave an erratic pattern through the volume. The duality does not help the book, even if, to me, it explains why Adamic was found dead on

his farm before the book was completed. Nor, unfortunately, is the duality the only flaw. Only once before—when Ed Snow walked in on the young Communist revolution in China—had an American writer had such an opportunity to observe and record a major phase in the history of world communism. In January, 1949, the morale of the Yugoslav leaders must have reached its lowest point. Some of them still hoped for reconciliation with Moscow, but most were already beginning to feel the need for reorientation. At such a moment the arrival of a man who—Belgrade felt—could sway American public opinion and tell the "true story" to the whole world was a minor miracle. It was thus that Adamic found himself greeted at the airport by a member of the Yugoslav Politbureau, that he could spend a total of thirty hours in conversations with Tito, that he could travel with Kardelj and Pijade and see other top leaders whenever he wished, and that he could nonchalantly turn down Tito's own invitation to a party in his, Adamic's, honor.

Presented with his opportunity, Snow produced a historic document. "The Eagle," unhappily, is not quite that. Perhaps Adamic's inner conflict was in the way; for weeks or months he did not even know whether he wanted to gather

the material thrust at him. Or perhaps it was the initial reluctance of Tito and his aides to disclose *all* the secrets. But whatever the reason, this is not the cleanly etched, comprehensive record of Tito's break with Moscow for which so many friends of Adamic have been waiting. In fact, the book does not meet the promise of the title. Chronologically, the story of Tito stops short of the break with Moscow. What happened at the moment the eagle freed its beak? What is there to show that the roots will snap where the Yugoslav beak was imbedded?

Yet the book does contain great chunks of precious material. Tito's story, partly drawn from himself, partly from men who know him, is often more exciting in Adamic's presentation than in Tito's own recent volume. There is the fascinating tale of how Tito, a prisoner of war in Siberia, sought refuge with a Kirghiz chieftain, learned the Kirghiz language, was offered the hands of the chief's four or five daughters, and chose instead to woo a Russian woman, to whom presumably he is still legally married. There is the record of Tito's underground work, his services in Spain, and his activities in Moscow. There are such precious tidbits as Tito's (1949) "We love the Soviet Union," and his belief that Russia would not attack Yugoslavia because this might provoke a world crisis, and the conviction of Yugoslav leaders that the "cold war" is not unwelcome to Moscow, since it inhibits the demand of the Russian people for more consumer goods and, moreover, keeps Mao Tse-tung attached to Russia.

Adamic's approach is not that of a reporter or a historian. He admits that, often, many weeks passed before he could find time to set down his notes of some important interview; yet, in relating them, he records such minute details as exchanged glances or the growl of Tito's dog. At crucial points in his reports of interviews he wanders away for some personal aside. He is casual with his sources; so that one often does not know whether it is Tito reminiscing, an aide contributing some second-hand

morsel, or Adamic himself doing some clever guessing. This is especially true in the curious account of Tito's feud with Gorkic, whom Tito replaced in 1937 as chief of the Yugoslav Communists. In an odd reverse of the Cominform technique Gorkic, missing in Russia since 1937, is described as, all at the same time, a Comintern agent detailed by Moscow to keep the Yugoslav Communist underground broken up, an agent of the OGPU, and a hireling of the "Pilsudski-Jesuit" spy network within the Polish Communist Party. Tito himself is drawn as an extraordinary figure who maintains a defiant independence while holding a desk job in the Moscow headquarters of the Comintern and whose appointment as the top man is demanded fiercely by the Yugoslav Communist underground. The source of this information is not given, but it must be someone in Tito's entourage.

It may well be that had Adamic lived he might have done a major surgical job on the book. As it was, Stella Adamic and Timothy Seldes, who took on the task of editing, deleted a third of the wordage. Even thus, the book, especially in the concluding chapters, reads more like random notes from a diary than a finished product. It is overwritten—notably in Book I—often imprecise, and at times confusing. Yet, curiously, it remains an important document for our times, for it is a passionate and troubled chronicle of a distinguished American liberal in a new American climate to which he could not possibly adapt himself. If anything emerges clearly from "The Eagle," it is that Adamic was in love with America and with freedom, that he felt he was losing something precious in his adopted land and was seeking to rediscover it in Yugoslavia, and that his death was a loss to liberalism and to America. MARK GAYN

Steinbeck's Later Fiction

EAST OF EDEN. By John Steinbeck.
The Viking Press. \$4.50

THIS is the longest and most ambitious of the six novels by Steinbeck since the appearance in 1939 of his masterpiece, "The Grapes of Wrath." It shares the distinction with the other five of being unsatisfactory in one important aspect or another and raises anew the

question of why Steinbeck's talent has declined so rapidly and so far.

The physical dimensions of the book are quantitatively impressive. Two large families, the Trasks and the Hamiltons, supply the cast of characters across three generations. The time span stretches from 1870 to 1918 and covers, in rapid descriptive interludes, most of the big events of American history between the Civil War and the First World War. The scene is the Salinas Valley in northern California, home territory for the author, which he treats with the minutest geographic and meteorological detail. And the text runs to more than six hundred pages.

Yet the results, artistic and imaginative, are meager. The characters divide into symbols of good and evil, keeping us from accepting them as individuals. Sam Hamilton, who came from Ireland to California, is the embodiment of everything good, sensitive, and true. His polarized counterpart is Cathy Trask, introduced at the start as a monster rather than a human being, who burns her parents to death, cuckolds her husband on their wedding day, shoots him later after the New England Trasks have settled in the Salinas Valley, and abandons her new-born twins to become the impresario of the town's leading brothel, where she operates a ring of murder, blackmail, and sexual sadism.

Mixed in with this moral symbolism is some biblical allegory, centering mainly around the Cain-Abel theme. Old Cyrus Trask has two sons, Adam and Charles, who separate neatly into opposing categories. Adam is sensitive and good, Charles is muscular and bad. Naturally Charles tries to murder his brother out of envy and hatred because Adam is his father's favorite—just as Abel's offerings were preferred by God to Cain's. The drama between them is repeated with Adam's two sons, Aron and Caleb. The result of the struggle is that the evil brother is morally and psychologically conquered, and in the process transformed into his counterpart.

Confronted with these simplified abstractions in the genre of the old medieval morality plays, one remembers that the Joads were none too individualized either. But their private lives were merged with the collective lives of the Okies, with the population drift from

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DEMOCRACY
By HENRY ADAMS

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the Dust Bowl to the land flowing with milk, honey, and orange groves beyond the mountains, and finally with the lives of the uprooted everywhere. This linkage gave "The Grapes of Wrath" its terrific intensity. Here the linkage is with rather vague stereotypes about good triumphing over evil, men being distinguished from animals by their moral sense, and the eternal existence of free will. No one will dispute the validity of these concepts, but they are only verbalized clichés as they appear in the novel.

Steinbeck is no great shakes as a moral philosopher, and this novel in terms of action and character is committed to its moral philosophy. He is, or was, at his best when moved by indignation, horror, passionate tenderness, and the other violent emotions that animated the naturalist novelists from Zola down. There is in this story very little emotion that affects the author amid the numerous emotionalizing melodramas through which his characters pass.

Furthermore, various elements fail to relate or cohere. The often lovely and always vivid descriptions of the Salinas Valley are not tied in with the lives

of the Trasks and the Hamiltons, who might just as well be living in any valley anywhere; the detailed accounts of nature are purely ornamental. So much time, energy, and drama are invested in the Trasks that the Hamiltons as a group struggle vainly for the attention of the reader. And the narrator, Steinbeck himself, a third-generation Hamilton, since he is only an outside observer of the events he deals with, has a superfluous air.

The brothel scenes aside, the novel might well have been written by Edna Ferber or Louis Bromfield. It is big, sprawling, muscle-bound, full of readily digestible characters involved in sentimental situations in which virtue inescapably triumphs over vice. The Steinbeck who was as much the genius of the 30's as Sinclair Lewis was of the 20's, is scarcely in evidence. The vitality, passion, and folk-communion that made "Tortilla Flat," "Of Mice and Men," and "The Grapes of Wrath" a permanent part of our literature are painfully absent in "East of Eden," as they have been in Steinbeck's fiction since the 1930's came to an end.

LEO GURKO

Sources of Corruption

MORALITY IN AMERICAN POLITICS. By George A. Graham. Random House. \$3.50.

DESPITE the partisan clamor that it is an invention of President Truman's associates, corruption has plagued American politics for a very long time. Professor Graham, a teacher of government at Princeton and a former consultant to Senator Douglas's Committee on Ethical Standards, has seen this fact clearly. In "Morality in American Politics" he goes beyond the deep freezers and tanker deals to view corruption in the broader perspective of American culture.

In the main, he has been remarkably successful. In his attempt to cover a multitude of subjects—from RFC loans to America's image of itself—he sometimes sacrifices thoroughness to comprehensiveness. Professor Graham has made only a beginning of the historical and comparative study of corruption that we so badly need. In what way, for instance, does American corruption differ from the English corruption of the eighteenth century? Why have the British managed to clean up their government while we have not? These are questions that have not yet been answered.

The book is most successful in placing corruption in its proper context. It begins with a judicious consideration of morality within all branches of our federal government. Professor Graham finds most cause for alarm in our legislature. "Representativeness, responsibility, and rationality," he writes, "are the bases for the moral authority of legislative bodies." He shows that Congress has in some measure abandoned all three R's: small states in the Senate and rural constituencies in the House are over-represented, and chairmen of committees are selected through the outmoded seniority system. Congress allots disproportionate power to its committee chairmen, weakens party discipline, and has failed to expel members who have been found guilty of improprieties or even crimes. Finally, Congress often rejects responsibility for legislative leadership and permits some of its investigations to turn into witch hunts. Professor Graham indicates how these failures lead to a loss of integrity among

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our legislators and open the road to corruption.

The executive branch, on the other hand, has accepted leadership and has, generally, represented the national interest faithfully. While placing incidents in their proper perspective—after all, ours will not be known as the Age of the Mink Coat but the Age of the Marshall Plan—Professor Graham does not hesitate to criticize President Truman for his misplaced loyalty to such friends as Harry Vaughan.

But "Morality in American Politics" also pays due attention to a wider context—the place of our government in our society. Professor Graham points out that civil servants and legislators do not live in isolation. Their values are those of the society from which they are selected, and their tempters come from the same society. Harold Ickes once said: "Within my knowledge, no public officer has ever bribed himself." The business man who wants a government contract badly enough to circumvent the law holds a central place in any study of corruption.

Professor Graham effectively surveys the impact of our *mores* on our political morality. We are a people, he writes, that pretends to disdain politicians, that is theoretically hostile to the state but practically eager to take handouts. We praise the man who makes a fast buck and the shrewd operator who avoids paying taxes by taking advantage of a loophole in the law. We demand impossibly high standards of the same public servants we revile as "bureaucrats," "radicals," and "dreamers."

The Douglas committee report, "Ethical Standards in Government," from which this book quotes liberally, rightly considered these attitudes intimately related to the question of morality in government. And Professor Graham agrees: as long as these ideas are prevailing, no amount of investigation and reorganization of governmental bureaus will change much. There is modern truth in the medieval English quatrain:

The law locks up both man and woman
Who steals the goose from off the
common,
But lets the greater felon loose
Who steals the common from the goose.

PETER GAY

Books in Brief

ON READING POETRY. By Aubrey de Selincourt. Alan Swallow. \$1.25. A pleasant little book. Addressing himself to the naive but presumably well-disposed reader, Mr. de Selincourt suggests "that the world of poetry is remote from no one who has his five senses, a quick understanding, and a certain warmth of sympathy with things and people other than himself." The world of poetry, it is made clear, includes its peculiar modern provinces. Mr. de Selincourt talks down to his audience somewhat, to be sure, but he does so affably and without offense. Originally published in England under the imprint of Phoenix House, this book is one of a series which affords instruction, also, in "Reading a Novel" (Walter Allen), "A Way of Looking at Pictures" (Allen Gwyne-Jones), "Looking at a Play" (W. Bridges-Adams), and "The Novel and Our Time" (Alex Comfort).

BREAD FROM HEAVEN. By Henrietta Buckmaster. Random House. \$3. A worthy novel which resembles rather too closely a case history of the protagonists' adjustment, both physical and spiritual, to a new world. The moral, of course, is that adjustment is a two-way street: the new world must do some adjusting, continuous, effortful, and conscious, to the people hurled into its midst. Miss Buckmaster's Karel and Nicky are brothers in all but blood—the crux of the plot, if you will—having been in Nazi prison camps together and later rescued together to face a new beginning. The story of their conquest of a place in a small New England community is full of believable incident, and the secondary characters, pleasant and unpleasant, come alive under Miss Buckmaster's capable handling. Especially good are such lesser but essential lights as Bertha Young, the "foster mother" who wants gratitude but doesn't recognize it when she gets it, instead provoking a kind of tolerant, silent disdain. This novel is less powerful than the same author's "Let My People Go," but it makes its point—and it is a good point to make these days when the two-way street is often roped off to make way for the America-for-the-Americans McCarthy Day parade.

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A QUEST FOR GANDHI. By Reginald Reynolds. Doubleday. \$3.75. In the winter of 1949-50 a conference was held in India with government support to discuss the application of Gandhi's methods to the promotion of world peace. It was attended by delegates from Asia, Africa, Europe, the Americas, Australia, and New Zealand. Though barely noticed in the United States, it was fully covered in the Indian press. Two British authors have written small books about it—Vera Brittain in "Search after Sunrise" and Reginald Reynolds in the book being noticed here. Mr. Reynolds, a Quaker, had known Gandhi in 1929-30, when he had gone to India especially to identify himself with Gandhi's activities. Twenty years afterward on his return to India, which had then enjoyed more than two years of independence, his feelings were largely those of disappointment. The millennium was far from having arrived, and he was not disposed to excuse Nehru or the other prominent members of the Indian National Congress for the failure to achieve Gandhi's program. Part of his disappointment seems to stem from a temperamental disapproval of all governments, a disposition to see good only in some hypothetical, scarcely to be realized order. The book is devoted as much to Reynolds himself as to Gandhi. He appears as a devoted pacifist—one of the sort with pretty biting language for those not in his own immediate camp. It contains some interesting anecdotes of Gandhi but nothing biographically or interpretatively important.

and one of the points of the play seems to be that risking one's life in peace time takes courage of a particularly admirable sort, as, indeed it does; but this point is not very clearly projected, and what we get mainly is the behavior of a group of men isolated from normal life and subject to sudden death. This group of men is also a group of British types—which probably helps to explain its popularity. There is a lot of cockney talk, and there are many local references, such as the Scotsman's anger at being called a Scotchman and his term for all British south of the (Scottish) border. The term is "Sassenachs."

Much of the humor, of course, is universal as well as British; likewise the situations and the characterizations—and the social significance which has been injected into both. For the play is concerned with the relations of the four "ratings" to their superiors as well as among themselves.

J. Pat O'Malley as Badger, who is mother and moralist as well as chief cook and bottlerasher for the mess deck, gives a good dry performance of what could be a cloying role, and the other three "ratings" are done well against similar odds. Leslie Nielsen makes the petty officer's pettiness more convincing than it would be, I'm sure, in the reading.

The play reminded me of those lesser British films which are literate and competent but not exciting—though as a film "Seagulls" would have the excitement at least of its setting; and of seagulls seen rather than merely heard off-stage.

Drama

MARGARET
MARSHALL

THE first play of the season is "Seagulls Over Sorrento" (John Golden Theater). It has been running for years in London, and though its content is such that one cannot help feeling kindly toward it, the most interesting thing about it is the fact that it has been so popular with the British public. "Seagulls" is a comedy; the locale is the mess deck of a naval experimental base on an island in Scapa Flow, and it presents a slice of life of the handful of men quartered there. The experiments going forward are highly dangerous,

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

THE performance of Mozart's lovely Clarinet Quintet by the Quartetto Italiano and Antoine de Bavier on a London record is the finest I have heard in years—with string playing fabulous in its refinement and blending of tone, its sensitive inflection, and with clarinet playing of matching delicacy of tone and phrasing. The first movement is slower than we usually hear, and the second is played Largo rather than Larghetto; but the music is made completely convincing in these tempos.

While the infrequently heard Handel Concerto Grosso Opus 6 No. 9 and the more familiar No. 10 are surpassed by some of the others in the series, both contain fine music—the Larghetto of No. 9 being an outstandingly beautiful movement. The performances by the Boyd Neel Orchestra on the London record are good.

Haydn's Missa Brevis in F (1750), his earliest preserved composition, and his Missa St. Joannis de Deo (1775) are engaging small-scale works, with moving slow passages—e.g., the ones in the Credo dealing with the Crucifixion. Good performances on the Lyrichord record by Hedda Heusser and Anni Berger, sopranos, Anton Heiller, organist, the Vienna Akademie Kammerchor and a chamber orchestra from the Vienna Symphony under Hans Gillesberger's direction.

The first part of the opening soprano aria of Bach's Cantata No. 202, "Weichet nur, betrübte Schatten," is magnificent music, and is beautifully sung by Anny Felbermayer; the rest of the work is, for me, routine stuff. The Cantata No. 161, "Komm, du süsse Todesstunde," on the reverse side of the Bach Guild record, is more routine stuff, except for the closing chorale, and is well performed by Hilde Rosell-Majdan, alto, Waldemar Kmentt, tenor, and chorus and orchestra under Prohaska's direction.

Oceanic offers a new recording of Fauré's lovely Requiem made by Nadine Sautereau, soprano, Bernard Demigny, baritone, Giuseppe Enghlert, organist, and the Paris Philharmonic Chorus and Orchestra under René Leibowitz's direction. The performance is excellent, and is of course reproduced with more beauty of sound and clarity of texture than the fine old performance recently dubbed onto LP by Columbia.

Pierre Bernac's singing of Schumann's "Dichterliebe" on a Columbia record is absurdly mannered, but Casadesu plays the piano part well.

What makes Gerald Abraham one of the best writers on music today is the fact that he writes out of first-hand knowledge of the music he is discussing and reports what a highly perceptive ear and mind have discovered in it. "This Modern Music" (Norton, \$2.50) is a new, revised, and amplified edition of a book originally

published in England in 1933, which provides an admirably clear explanation of the extensions of vocabulary and syntax in the music which the general musical public has found incomprehensible. And Mr. Abraham contends that, as in the case of a foreign language, one cannot understand modern music merely by listening to it, but must learn its vocabulary and grammar—though the converse is no less true, that "no amount of knowledge of the why and wherefore of [the] musical speech will make that language your own, as natural to you as Bach's or Wagner's, without a great deal of keen listening practice."

But as a matter of fact children learn their native language by ear long before they study its grammar; and I know from personal experience that foreign languages are best learned in the same way: after a few months in Vienna, as a boy of ten, I spoke German without having seen a grammar. And this is even more true of music, which, as Mr. Abraham himself observes in another connection, "has no sense outside itself": the internal coherence of the progression of sounds is conveyed directly by, and on the other hand apprehended and learned directly from, the sounds themselves as heard. That was how I learned the simplest musical vocabulary and syntax in earliest childhood long before I learned anything

about chord progressions; it was how I extended that vocabulary and syntax later to include Debussy, Ravel, earlier Stravinsky (to "Le Sacre"), Prokofiev, Bloch. And when that way didn't work—when, that is, in the twenties I began to hear music by Schönberg, Von Webern, Varèse, Ruggles, Riegger that made no sense to me—I found that no amount of reading of explanations of vocabulary and syntax caused the music to begin to have the sense it hadn't had before.

So it has continued to be. When, a few years ago, I began to enjoy some of the later works of Stravinsky that

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September 20, 1952

I had previously found arid and ugly, it was as a result of listening—listening, it is true, with help, but the help of Balanchine's choreography, not of the incomprehensible explanations of the Stravinskyites. And when, a few months ago, I found Schönberg's "Erwartung" expressively effective, the expressive effect was something imposed on my mind directly by the progression of sounds that I heard for the first time; whereas the principle of organization that Mr. Abraham points out in a passage from Schönberg's Five Piano Pieces doesn't work, for me, as a principle of coherent sense in the progression of sounds as heard. That is true of most of "this modern music"—and not only for me but for the general musical public.

CONTRIBUTORS

BARBARA HOWES was formerly editor of the magazine *Chimera*.

MARK GAYN has spent the last five years in Europe.

LEO GURKO, associate professor of English at Hunter College, is the author of "The Angry Decade."

PETER GAY, instructor in government at Columbia University, will publish "The Dilemma of Democratic Socialism" in the fall.

Coming Soon in *The Nation*
Art Begins Again in Germany
By John Anthony Thwaites

PERSONALS

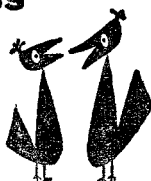
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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Twenty-five Years After

Dear Sirs: It is typical of *The Nation's* editors in these fearful times that they have paused to remember the significance of the deaths of Sacco and Vanzetti. But what good purpose is served by such respect for liberty's dead martyrs if we turn our faces away, as *The Nation* has seemed to do, from the political martyrs of our own decade? I refer, of course, to Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, whose conviction and death sentence for alleged atomic spying will come before the Supreme Court this September.

It must become known very quickly that these two young parents are sentenced to die on what appears to be flimsy, trumped-up evidence, supplied mainly by David and Ruth Greenglass, self-admitted spies who got off with a light jail sentence in one case and complete freedom in the other, presumably as a result of their turning government witnesses. There is only a little time left to consider what it will mean to all American liberals if these people die because of their alleged leftist political views. They were, as Felix Frankfurter said of Sacco and Vanzetti, "convicted by the atmosphere and not by the evidence."

The complete trial record in this case has been printed now by the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, 246 Fifth Avenue, New York. Apparently they are not afraid to let people judge the facts for themselves.

Let us not celebrate the anniversary of the Sacco and Vanzetti executions with two more political deaths, thus proving that they died in vain and that we have learned nothing in twenty-five years!

MARY and NORMAN SPRINGER
Iowa City, Iowa

Where There's No Redress

Dear Sirs: Your excellent civil liberties issue might have been augmented by one more article—a discussion of the morality of the press in the era of witch-hunting. Permit me to give an example:

The August 30 issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* contains an article on "communism" in Mexico. In it there is an account of the "activities" of a group of "Hollywood Reds" in the town of Cuernavaca. Among other juicy

items, the author describes the disruptive conduct of Gordon Kahn and myself at a P. T. A. meeting of the American School in Cuernavaca.

Disruptive? No such meeting ever occurred, and the school will testify to it! Moreover my own children were not registered at that school, and I myself never have attended any P. T. A. meetings of any school in Mexico. Yet the author of this article invents a meeting, places Mr. Kahn and me there, describes our conduct, and even quotes words we are supposed to have uttered. Can malice extend further than this?

By the presentation of more invented "data" of this type the author, Richard English, pictures for millions of readers a non-existent "Hollywood Group" and a Mexican town in an uproar. It is an astounding piece of journalistic fakery—not just error or misinterpretation, but deliberate falsehood. Yet what is the protection against such calculated mendacity? How can one disprove to millions of readers this easily refutable nonsense? By a letter of protest to the editors of the *Post*? I have learned already that this is wasted effort—they will not print it. A libel suit? I am consulting an attorney, but I am well aware that a suit will take years in the courts and, in any instance, is of small avail against the public effect of such an article. The fact is that when the press is irresponsible, individuals who are slandered have no adequate retaliation whatever.

Yet perhaps those subjected to such malice will bear their burden more easily than our country can bear the degeneration of public morality and the betrayal of public responsibility.
Mexico City ALBERT MALTZ

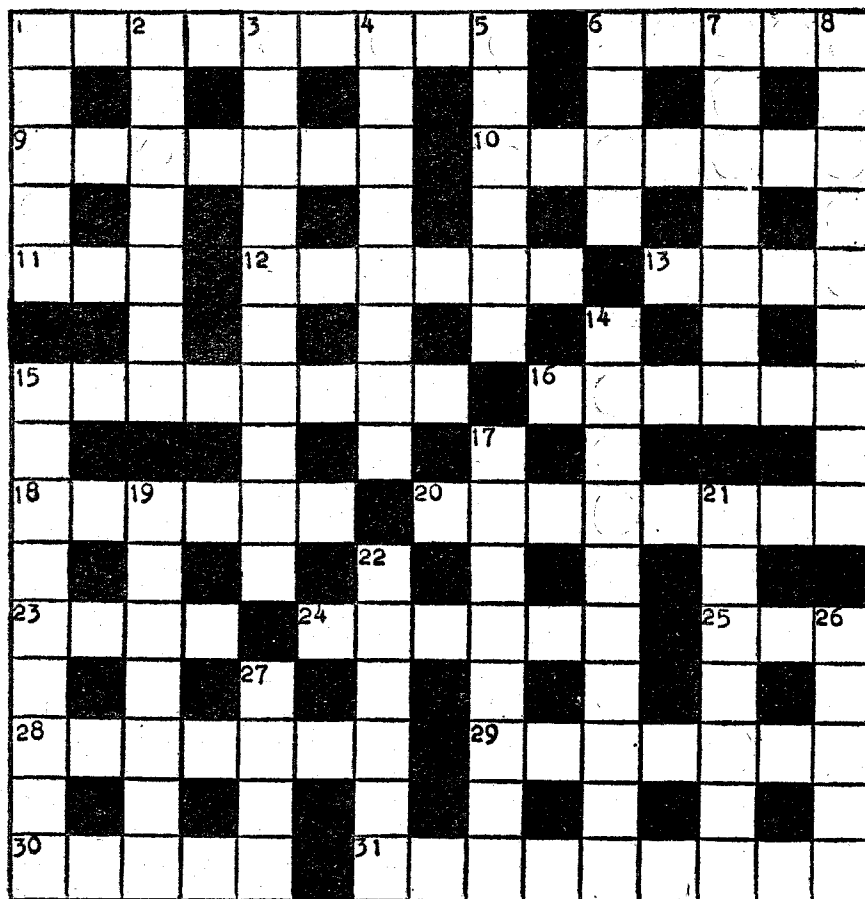
A Contest for Students

Dear Sirs: Some of your younger readers might be interested to know that the National Council of Jewish Women is sponsoring a \$5,000 essay contest on The Meaning of Academic Freedom. The contest is open to any college or university senior (class of 1953) in the United States. The contest starts September 15 and closes December 31, 1952. Anyone interested in further details may write Essay Contest, National Council of Jewish Women, 1 West Forty-seventh Street, New York 36.
New York JOSEF BERGER

The NATION

Crossword Puzzle No. 483

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 and 6. Sounds as though it's not the light meat of the chicken that's important, but this might give cause for reflection. (9, 5)
- 9 Do albinos consider it somewhat less than contagious? (7)
- 10 See 1 down.
- 11 In conclusion, 15 down has this agreeable sound. (3)
- 12 This universe would be a galaxy. (6)
- 13 This, and others, might serve as a clue to up-to-the-minute news on election night. (2, 2)
- 15 Ring presentation goes on here. (8)
- 16 Sent in a game for which Henry was equipped by the Dauphin. (6)
- 18 The minister and I seem to be caught in the act. (6)
- 20 Costume of flowers, perhaps. (8)
- 23 One form of weapon that sounds within the fold. (4)
- 24 One who preserves the meat monopoly? (6)
- 25 See 17 down.
- 28 His calling might suggest a high position for him. (7)
- 29 Give the gang weapons—it might show at least temporary authority. (3, 4)
- 30 and 5 down. Eminent sage associated with Watt. (5, 6)
- 31 Certainly not an actor's paradise! (This clue should be illuminating.) (4, 5)

DOWN

- 1 and 10 across. Is it sad to come upon the unfortunate? Quite the opposite. (5-2-5)

- 2 It implies overlooking the "little woman," perhaps, about the home.
- 3 How the facts of the case are brought out is obvious! (2, 8)
- 4 It forms a daily tie with character.
- 5 See 30 across.
- 6 His euphuisms were original. (4)
- 7 The peninsula somewhat suggests a plant color. (7)
- 8 They might have acted like the Lion and the Unicorn, but in a different sense. (9)
- 14 They don't observe the laws of cause and effect, even in play. (10)
- 15 Not *ochi chornya* which could cause one to be temporarily 17 and 25. (5, 4)
- 17 and 25 across. *Jalousie*, like a drunken orgy, might be directed toward the umpire. (5, 2, 1, 3)
- 19 Degenerate. (7)
- 21 Romeo told his arms to take their last one. (7)
- 22 Sounds like everyone should have one of Revere's callings. (2, 4)
- 26 Characterized by a swell arrival?
- 27 Fruit found by an inhabitant of 24?

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 482

ACROSS:—1 GO TO BLAZES; 6 ABEL; 10 AGITATO; 11 TRIANON; 12 HAIL TO THE CHIEF; 14 LUNGFISH; 15 THROUGH; 16 GLANCE; 18 PARAMOUR; 22 FORTUITOUSNESS; 24 BETROTH; 25 ITERATE; 26 and 8 SIDE LINE; 27 FRIENDLESS.

DOWN:—1 GRAPHOLOGY; 2 TUITION; 3 BEAUTIFICATION; 4 AGOUTIS; 5 ESTHER; 7 BANDBAU; 9 FISHERMAN'S BEND; 13 CHORISTERS; 17 ADOPTED; 19 ACONITE; 20 OPERATE; 21 WITHER; 23 EBS.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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THE SOUTHERN NEGRO: 1952

▪ A SPECIAL ISSUE OUT ON SEPTEMBER 27 ▪

The rise of Southern Negroes carries immense political implications. Nearly 2,000,000 of them—the country's greatest potential bloc of new voters, and unpledged to any single party—are expected to vote for President this November, a number almost sufficient to have given Dewey the victory over Truman in 1948. *The Nation* is planning to tell for the first time the story of "The Southern Negro: 1952." Prepared by outstanding experts in the field, the issue will contain the following articles:

I. "THE SOUTH: GIANT OF TOMORROW," by *Henry Lesesne*, Southern regional correspondent for the New York *Herald Tribune*, outstanding authority on the Southern socio-economic-political scene.

II. "THE NEGRO VOTE IN THE SOUTH, 1952," by *Henry Lee Moon*, Director of Public Relations for the NAACP. Mr. Moon analyses the growth in the number of Negroes voting in the South and points up the significance of this phenomenon. Mr. Moon has given more attention to the Negro in politics than any other American authority. He is the author of *Balance of Power: The Negro Vote* (1948).

III. "THE NEO-DIXIECRATS," by *Tarleton Collier*. A native of Alabama, Mr. Collier has been an editorial writer on the *Louisville Courier-Journal* for the last ten years. He is the author of several studies about the South, including studies of its penal systems. In this lively piece, Mr. Collier examines the basis of the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition in Congress.

IV. "THE CIVIL RIGHTS FIGHT IN CONGRESS," by *Clarence Mitchell*, Director, Washington Bureau, NAACP. No one has ever been closer to the fight to secure enactment of an adequate civil rights program in Congress than Mr. Mitchell. Here, in full detail, is the complete story of the how, and the why, of the defeat of the civil rights program in recent sessions of the Congress.

V. "RECONSTRUCTION, NUMBER TWO," by *Lewis W. Jones*, Director of Research, Tuskegee Institute. An outstanding authority, Mr. Jones discusses the impact of recent socio-economic changes in the South as they affect Southern Negroes.

VI. "THE NEGRO VOTE IN NATIONAL POLITICS," by *R. H. Brisbane*. A member of the faculty of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, Mr. Brisbane discusses the significance of the Negro vote in national politics.

VII. AN ARTICLE BY *LUCY RANDOLPH MASON*, of the C. I. O. Organizing Committee, on the impact of the labor movement on the social, economic, and political outlook of the Southern Negro. Miss Mason, who has been actively engaged in the effort to organize Southern labor, is the author of a book—*To Win These Rights*—which Harper's will publish early in October.

VIII. "SOUTHERN NEGRO LEADER," an article by *George Penty* and *James Crown*. Messrs. Penty and Crown, native Southerners have prepared a vivid account of the trials and tribulations of a Southern Negro leader.

In addition, the issue will contain an article by *Dr. Ira de A. Reid*, a series of short reports from key areas in the South indicating the present temper of Southern Negro opinion, and a report on the long and heroic struggle of Southern Negroes to achieve the right to vote.

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